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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN
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GENERAL ISSUE

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

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NOVEMBER 1955

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY

THE PAYNE EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

OF

RHO CHAPTER, PHI DELTA KAPPA

AT

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON SQUARE

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is published by The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., monthly from September to May, inclusive. Publication and business office, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y. The subscription price is \$3.00 per year; foreign rates, Canadian and South American, \$3.25, all others, \$3.40; the price of single copies is 35 cents each. Orders for less than half a year will be charged at the single-copy rate.

Entered as second-class matter September 27, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is indexed in *Educational Index*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, and *Business Education Index*.

The publishers of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY are not responsible for the views held by its contributors.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 29

NOVEMBER, 1955

No. 3

POPULAR HERO SYMBOLS AND AUDIENCE GRATIFICATIONS

Frederick Elkin

It is a basic proposition of Sociology that the values of a group may be symbolized in individuals.¹ A group that values military achievement honors a successful general; a group that values material progress pays homage to a proficient inventor; a group that values success in athletics respects a sports champion. Those individuals who embody such values of the group, and receive recognition therefor, are likely to be popular heroes of the society.²

Since popular heroes embody the values of the society, they are worthy of study as symbols of the positive values of a culture. This, however, is but one of several reasons why popular heroes are of social significance. In so far as such heroes are objects of widespread national interest, they tend, along with numerous elements of our culture, to draw attention away from local and primary group interests. Also, as is evidenced currently by thousands of fan clubs and associations dedicated to movie stars, radio and television singers, and sports champions, popular heroes may become the foci of voluntary organizations and of accompanying myths and patterns of ritual. Further, by virtue of the honor they are accorded, heroes represent ideals of thought and activity which have a significant influence on the members of a society. There are numerous reports, for example,

¹ See Hans Speier, "Honor and Social Structure," *Social Research*, Feb. 1935, pp. 74-97.

² We are defining a popular hero not as a leader who significantly influences the course of events, but as a person of prominence in the society who is the object of veneration or idolization. This prominence may be indicated by rumor or legend concerning him, by the amount of news and magazine space devoted to him, or by a general familiarity with his name, position, and deeds. The veneration or idolization may be indicated by honors accorded him, by a following of "fans," or by formal recognition by the society. See O. E. Klapp, "Hero Worship in America," *American Sociological Review*, Feb. 1949.

of children who have modelled their behavior after such popular entertainers. That adults likewise are affected is evidenced by the effectiveness of pronouncements of heroes in realms—in advertising, for example—not directly related to their spheres of honor. And finally, a study of popular heroes merits our serious consideration because they are means through which members of our mass society, through identification or imaginative association, can derive various psychological gratifications.

There are certain basic core ideas and feelings characteristic of many segments of American society.³ However, it is well recognized that there are also divisive elements in American life, one of which is social stratification. We know that the members of social class groups—no matter how social class is defined—tend to differ in many respects. They have different occupations and are of different income level; they live in different sections of the city and in different types of homes; they have different positions in the power structure of a community; they tend to belong to different organizations, read different newspapers and magazines, visit different doctors, and be arrested for different types of crimes.

There are general differences also in their attitudes and values—in the emphasis they place upon education; the ideals they try to instil in their children; the importance they place upon moral values, the Church, respectability, cleanliness, civic participation, and intellectual and cultural achievements. They tend to have different attitudes towards certain political problems, different conceptions of the roles of men and women, and they allow different types of expression of their impulse life.⁴

This paper is a report on one aspect of a preliminary study concerning the relationship between social class and popular heroes. It was a basic hypothesis of the study that class groups, differing in so many other respects, would also feel and react differently to specific

³ See C. and F. R. Kluckholm, "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns," in *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, ed. by L. Bryson et al (New York: Harper and Bros., 1947), chap. 9.

⁴ A few of the numerous researches which report such differences are: A. Davis and R. J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, Dec., 1946, pp. 698-709; W. L. Warner and W. E. Henry, "The Radio Day Time Serial: A Symbolic Analysis," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXXVII (1948), 3-71; R. Centers, *Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949); W. L. Warner and Associates, *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949); Warner and Lunt, *Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

popular heroes. To represent the popular heroes, the following typed motion picture stars were selected: Betty Grable, Greer Garson, Bette Davis, Katherine Hepburn, Rita Hayworth, Lauren Bacall, Jimmy Stewart, Clark Gable, Humphrey Bogart, Van Johnson, James Mason, and Errol Flynn.⁵ On the basis of the publicity about these stars, the repetitive types of roles they have played on the screen, and their expressive behavior, each was characterized as a symbol representing constellations of given social and personality characteristics.⁶ For example, in brief, the name "Betty Grable" symbolizes a blonde with a well-shaped figure from a "common-man" American background; she enjoys dancing and singing popular songs; she has few, if any, intellectual and cultural interests; and psychologically, is a relatively uncomplex person.

To represent the different class levels in this study, we employed two sample groups of women—one of a rather well-to-do socioeconomic level and one of a "common-man" social level.⁷ In this paper we are limiting our discussion only to the latter group. Our sample of thirty-two young adult and middle-aged women tended to be married housewives, of American parentage, born and raised in Chicago or other urban areas, with a high school education, living in modest apartments in a partially run-down section of Chicago. Most had young or adolescent children. The husbands of approximately the same educational level as their wives, were employed primarily as skilled and semi-skilled laborers.

These subjects were given approximately two hour interviews which included the presentation of a modified Thematic Apperception Test and a series of questions which sought to get at their movie-going interests and their attitudes toward, and images of, the selected movie stars.

Primarily on the basis of the responses to the Thematic Apperception Test, the general outlook and perspectives of the sample

⁵ This study was begun in 1947 when all of these movie stars were prominent. The criteria for their selection are given in Elkin, "A study of the Relationship between Popular Hero Types and Social Class" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1951).

⁶ Motion picture stars are prominent, ordinarily, less because of their professional ability as actors, than because of the characteristics they have come to symbolize. See Elkin, *ibid.*

⁷ The "common-man" level is a phrase used by W. Lloyd Warner to refer to his upper-lower and lower-middle class groups. In his researches, he has found that the members of this level have many characteristics in common which tend to distinguish them from those both above and below them in social rank. See Warner and Henry, *op. cit.*, and Warner, *Democracy in Jonesville*.

group of women may be characterized as follows:⁸ they tend to view the world about them as unrewarding and potentially threatening; they fear unknown and unfamiliar situations; they have anxieties about their own utility in life and feel that a woman's role is not adequately appreciated; they are apprehensive about those areas of impulse which they may not be able to control. They tend to view human behavior in a fairly clear-cut way. In describing the movie stars, for example, they are not especially analytical of motives and generally accept without question the typing of movie stars. They are concerned about their relationships with men. On the one hand, they wish to be attractive to men; while on the other, they recognize that men are in a position to threaten and harm them. They try to relieve their feelings of tension and anxiety by seeking various kinds of reassurance. They value strength and confidence. They find assurance in following familiar and conventional paths and in maintaining relatively stereotyped relations with other people; they value the "friendly" and the "easygoing" which do not make uncomfortable demands upon them; they like to stress that they do have useful roles in society, especially in preserving the home and in maintaining respectability and morality. They may enjoy fantasies in which they can magically resolve their problems and achieve their wishes.

It was an assumption of the study that the reactions of the subjects to the movie star symbols were psychologically functional. A positive reaction to a movie star symbol was viewed as appealing favorably, in one way or another, to a subject's psychological predispositions; a negative reaction was viewed as in some way threatening a subject's predispositions or any values with which he identified or was ego-involved.⁹

In line with this assumption, we find that our popular hero symbols reflect many of the expedients to which the subjects resort to allay their fears and anxieties and gain reassurance. The sources of reassurance are varied. The subjects are reassured first of all when the values of their own class position are reaffirmed. These subjects, aware that there are groups above and below them in the social scale, like to think of themselves as the ordinary, respectable, average folk

⁸ For further details on such a use of the Thematic Apperception Test, see Elkin, *op. cit.*, Warner and Henry, *op. cit.*, and Alvin Rose, "Projective Techniques in Sociological Research," *Social Forces*, Dec. 1949.

⁹ This assumption of "psychological determinism" is common in the works of clinical psychologists and other students of human behavior. See, for example, L. K. Frank, "Projective Method for the Study of Personality," *Journal of Psychology*, VIII (1939), 389-413; and K. Horney, *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939), chap. 1.

of the nation. At the same time, accepting the American emphasis on "getting ahead," they greatly respect those who can rise above this social level. There is a danger however, in that those who rise to higher levels might now look upon them as inferiors. Consequently the subjects find reassurance in those "common-man" stars who are successful but who, at the same time, have maintained their "common-man" interests and personality characteristics. Clark Gable, for example, a symbol in part of virility and romantic appeal for women, is viewed as an ordinary American who has achieved great success in the entertainment world. But this success has not "gone to his head"; he has not adopted "superior airs"; he is still goodhearted, modest, natural, and friendly. In remaining "common-man" in personality, Clark Gable symbolically assures the subjects that their values are permanent, stable, and worthy and that they need feel no inferiority because of their social position. Illustrative of remarks which reflect such an image of Clark Gable, and also of Jimmy Stewart, respectively, are:

He's a good farmer. I don't think he goes for night life. A good American. He likes old clothes and hunting. He never looks terribly dressed up.

He's a good clean old home fellow. He's like an easy old shoe. I just picture him as a homebody, just a likeable personality. A small town person. He's just like a big farmer kid, so natural and down-to-earth. Nothing phony about him. He's just an all-around good fellow. He just acts natural, no pretending that he's talking high or low.

The subjects may also obtain reassurance through identification or imaginative association with those popular hero stars who symbolize confidence, strength, and assurance. With such stars, the subjects need not feel insecure in the face of a threatening environment or an unknown future. Among our selected women stars who can efficiently cope with any problem that may arise are especially Greer Garson and Bette Davis, and secondarily Katherine Hepburn, Lauren Bacall, and Betty Grable. Greer Garson, symbolically, is steady and assured, is never very seriously upset, and actively and confidently goes about resolving the problems that confront her. Bette Davis, Katherine Hepburn, and Lauren Bacall are independent women who can defy the pressures of the environment and actively strive to achieve positive goals. They may sometimes express the hostility which the subjects themselves are afraid to express. Betty Grable, in her own limited sphere, likewise can capably cope with any threatening situation. Illustrative of remarks which reflect such images of Greer Garson and Bette Davis respectively are:

Greer Garson plays in more serious pictures. She looks more her age

and doesn't try to act young or light-hearted. She tries to help people out. She gets what she wants and would tell people off when they need to be told.

She'd be quiet and dignified until pushed too far. But then watch out! She's a temperamental and quick-tongued person. She's not very finicky about her clothes, she's too independent a woman to worry about what other people think about that.

Through imaginative association with male stars, the subjects can assume relatively passive roles with the assurance that the men will cope with the threatening forces. In one way or another, all of our selected male stars except Van Johnson suggest this type of reassurance. Clark Gable, through his confidence; Jimmy Stewart through his easygoing ways; Errol Flynn, through his devil-may-care attitude; Humphrey Bogart, through his aggressiveness; and James Mason, through his decisiveness, all suggest that any threatening forces can be met without serious disturbance. Illustrative of remarks which reflect such images of Clark Gable and Humphrey Bogart respectively are:

He's just a natural person. He has confidence. If you like him, all right; if you don't like him, all right. Nothing phases him. He doesn't worry much about things. He's sure of himself.

He's always the tough guy. Whether he plays a detective or a gangster, he can always take care of himself. He's not someone who can be pushed around.

These subjects also gain reassurance by feeling that they have worthy and useful roles in the society. They like to emphasize that it is they who maintain the home and the moral standards of the society. Most clearly symbolizing this appeal among our selected stars is Greer Garson. She represents the moral respected housewife and mother who voluntarily makes sacrifices to help other people. She is a symbol of the satisfying proposition that if you are moral and good you will succeed.¹⁰ Illustrative of remarks which reflect such images of Greer Garson and Betty Grable—who, to many subjects is also a symbol of this proposition—respectively, are:

Greer Garson is so convincing. I think of her as sweet and charming. She wants to help other people, to do what is right, to set an example for us. She's that kind of a person.

I like Betty Grable very much. She's a nice person. I think she'd make a very good family life too. Her family life is first to her, then her career. She wouldn't want any arguments with her husband about careers, she'd want him to agree about the children.

¹⁰ Cf. the discussion of the soap opera heroine in Warner and Henry, *op. cit.*; and in R. Arnheim, "The World of the Daytime Serial," *Radio Research* 1942-1943, eds. P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1944).

The subjects can point up their own essential role in the society not only by glorifying the characteristics of women, but also by belittling the capabilities and qualities of men. When Greer Garson and Bette Davis, and to some degree Betty Grable, are characterized as women who can resolve interpersonal and emotional problems, it suggests, by implication, the lesser ability of men to resolve such problems. The subjects also suggest their own ability when they characterize Van Johnson, and sometimes Jimmy Stewart, as clean-cut American boys who would find a woman's guidance beneficial. They suggest their own role in maintaining the standards and morals of the society likewise when they describe Humphrey Bogart as crude, and suggest that his basically good qualities might be brought to the fore by a good woman. His very roughness is felt to point up the need for a refining and gentler influence in the society. Illustrative of remarks which reflect such images of Jimmy Stewart and Humphrey Bogart respectively are:

He's quiet, shy, and reserved. He's not very good looking but he has a nice personality. He wants just a quiet home life, he's lonely by himself. He'll fool them all some day, the country boys often do.

I don't think he's as tough as he's cracked up to be. In a movie he would sacrifice his own grandmother. But you can see that underneath he's not so bad. A nice person can bring out the good in him and, if he really likes someone, he will be a true friend.

Also of importance to most of the "common-man" subjects are those movie star heroes who symbolize beauty, romance, and sex appeal. Although there are certain taboos in this general area, and the feelings of the subjects are not always made explicit, it is evident that they do recognize these values of our culture. The subjects like to identify with those women stars who are attractive and sexually appealing. Identification with such symbols not only assures the subjects of their own worth, but also—inasmuch as they are in a position to accept or refuse overtures—gives them a certain power over men. The selected stars associated with romance and sex appeal vary, of course, in their symbol emphases, Betty Grable focusing on popular romance, Lauren Bacall on direct sex behavior, and Rita Hayworth on luxury and glamour. Illustrative remarks about Rita Hayworth and Lauren Bacall respectively which reflect such feelings are:

Well I kind of like her. She is awfully attractive looking. I just enjoy seeing her. She's sort of on a higher level than Betty Grable, who is a bright looking blonde. I picture Rita Hayworth with very stunning clothes. It may be sort of revealing, but not revealing the way Lauren Bacall's is. I picture Rita Hayworth liking the dashing hero type.

Oh, she's slick. For one thing she gets what she wants. No one's going to push her around. As to her clothes, Oh brother! I imagine a pair of slacks; but for evening something very enlightening for a fellow. I wouldn't say that she's got many women friends.

The male stars on our selected list who symbolize romance and sex have a related type of appeal. These subjects look with favor on those men who view women as objects of beauty and sexual desire, an image of themselves which the subjects highly value. Most clearly symbolizing such appeals among our selected stars are Clark Gable and Errol Flynn. Examples of remarks about Errol Flynn suggesting this appeal are:

He's quite the Romeo, out to get the girls. I don't know this from movies so much, but that's my general picture. He's always trying to impress the girls.

Well he's always out in the open, there's nothing tricky about Errol Flynn. He's a wolf, that's for sure. In the movies, he usually wants his women and it looks like he has two or three fighting over him.

A final source of reassurance is derived from those stars who symbolize a happy, carefree, anxietyless way of life. Magical and "lucky break" solutions have a strong appeal for these subjects. They enjoy fantasies of a world in which they are happy and gay and without fears or sorrows. Among our selected stars, such fantasy ideals are symbolized especially by Rita Hayworth and Betty Grable—Rita Hayworth symbolizing a world of loveliness, luxury, and enchantment; and Betty Grable a world of buoyancy, cheerfulness, and happy endings. Errol Flynn, likewise, to some subjects is identified with a type of happy adventure world. Through identification or imaginative association with these stars, the subjects can gain a temporary reassurance by escaping from difficult situations and achieving gratifying goals. Examples of remarks which reflect such images of Rita Hayworth and Betty Grable respectively are:

Oh she loves to dance for one thing. She's very romantic and musically inclined. She might be with a lively society set. Her clothes would be very nice, fancy dinner gowns and evening apparel, nothing ordinary. She's after gaiety; she's more concerned with the now than with the future.

Oh I like her musicals. She's a light and airy sort of thing; happy, always dancing and singing. I picture her in something pink and light colored. She has married a very fine man and they are getting along well; they have a good home life.

Certain aspects of the popular hero and heroine symbols are interpreted as threatening rather than as reassuring, and the subjects react against them. The "common-mon" subjects, we observed, felt

reassured by those symbols which reinforced the values of their class position. By the same token, the subjects react against those symbols which are viewed as attacking their position. One such symbol is represented by Katherine Hepburn. With her "conceit" and "superior airs," she is thought by many to look down upon the "common-man" subjects and their values. The subjects defend their own image of themselves by describing her as snobbish, nasty, and insincere. To some subjects, James Mason, Greer Garson and Bette Davis likewise represent "superior acting" and threatening images. Examples of remarks which suggest an image of Katherine Hepburn are:

I can't stand her. She's very snobbish. She thinks she's so high above everybody else. She usually goes for those fortyish types. It burns me up when she plays with Spencer Tracy. She hasn't the capacity to love anyone but herself.

She's very snooty, very finicky. That's why I don't like her very well, though she can act all right. I don't think any man is good enough for her. She's very choosy. I don't think anyone could satisfy her, but herself.

The subjects have ambivalent feelings towards men. They wish to be admired by them, but at the same time, feel that men are in a position to harm them. Those men who may try to dominate them or who may not accord them the respect they feel they deserve can only contribute to their fears and insecurities. To our subjects, such threats are symbolized especially by Humphrey Bogart, James Mason, and Errol Flynn. These men are not subject to control by women and are not to be trusted. Examples of remarks which reflect such images of Humphrey Bogart and James Mason respectively are:

He's sort of mean, just a hardboiled character. I have a picture of him pulling out his gat, shooting someone, and running away with someone else's woman. He's rough through and through. When he was married before, they always said, the "Battling Bogarts." I imagine he'd be hard to live with.

I imagine he's hateful and brooding. I saw him in *They Were Sisters*; he was vicious to his wife. You didn't know what he was going to do next. I think he likes the limelight in his pictures. He wants his own way.

The "common-man" subjects, we noted, may find reassurance in the area of romance and sex; they may likewise find it threatening. The subjects tend to feel that sex, which they associate with impulsivity, should be kept under control, and any unconventional or improperly channeled expression thereof is dangerous. Thus those stars, male and female, who flaunt their interest in sex and defy the moral values of the subjects, may be viewed as threats. Most notable of our selected male stars who shows insufficient respect and restraint in this area is Errol Flynn. Many subjects characterize him

as an irresponsible "wolf." Also suggestive of such a threat to at least a few of the subjects are James Mason, Clark Gable, and Humphrey Bogart. Examples of remarks which reflect such an image of Errol Flynn are:

He's just n.g. as far as I can see in just everything under the sun. All the scandals and paper writeups—it just proves what you think of him in the beginning. He's just got into the habit of taking what he wants when he wants it.

He's conceited. I don't like his attitude. He thinks he's wonderful and he isn't. There's not much to him. I suppose there's a certain type of girl who would like that, the type who couldn't see through him, or who just wouldn't care.

The women stars who flaunt their sex also may arouse resentment because of their apparent success with men; they help contribute to man's demoralization. Most suggestive of such threats among our selected women stars are Lauren Bacall and Rita Hayworth and, to some degree Betty Grable. Examples of remarks about Lauren Bacall and Rita Hayworth respectively which reflect such attitudes are:

She's sort of a "sleep" type. She thinks she's got something which apparently no one else can see. Whatever her charm is, it's hidden and only the wolfish kind would see it in her. I picture her hanging on a lamppost. She reminds me of something evil. She always wants the men for a certain purpose and that's putting it mild.

I think she's selfish in a way. I think she thinks about herself more than about other people. I picture her wearing slick clothes, kind of flashy, night club stuff. She'd like a man that can give her anything she wants, the kind you find sitting in a night club, the kind just waiting for her to come in. She just wants to show off Rita Hayworth.

The dilemma of romantic appeal and sexual threat which these stars represent to the "common-man" subjects is often resolved by playing down or denying the significance of the sexual symbolism. The subjects either directly or indirectly acknowledge the sexual appeal, but then specifically note that the given stars basically have a sense of morality and responsibility. Examples of remarks about Clark Gable and Betty Grable respectively which reflect such resolutions of the dilemma are:

Oh I just think he's sensible and a homebody. He plays romantic parts, but he wants finally to settle down.

She's very clean and full of life. A clean mind. Her pictures are never suggestive to the point where you'd notice it. She's just an American girl. I think she builds herself around a clean life, nothing vulgar.

The "common-man" subjects, we have noted, employ less complex thought processes than do the "well-to-do" subjects and feel more confident and assured when they follow customary and familiar paths. Consequently, if a popular hero is considered psychologically complex or incomprehensible in his behavior, he is likely to represent a disturbing force and arouse a negative reaction. This is especially true if the hero is associated with a higher class level and cannot be looked upon as an inferior oddity. Especially symbolic of such incomprehensibility is Katherine Hepburn although, in some respects, James Mason and Bette Davis also partake of these characteristics. Thus, too, when Van Johnson, acting contrary to the public image of a youthful, smiling, clean-cut American boy, married the recently divorced wife of his fellow actor Keenan Wynn and a mother of two children, he acted in a way that was incomprehensible and disturbing to many of the "common-man" subjects. The subjects, not prone to seek psychological explanations of his behavior, felt that he was wilfully renouncing the guides of conventional society which they felt they represented. Examples of remarks about Katherine Hepburn and Van Johnson which reflect such feelings are:

Jesus, she's a morbid type. Kind of foreign. Kind of funny-like, odd. Everything she'd wear is plain; just so she's got something on, that's all she worries about. I don't like the way she does things, as if she's on the stage; she's not natural.

I don't think he knows what it's all about. He's had too much, too quick, and too often. He's gone a long way towards wrecking himself now, with the Evie Wynn marriage. She has two kids. I don't see what people see in him; he's too kiddish for his age.

The foregoing discussion requires a few rather obvious qualifications. First, the listing of the types of reassurances and threats serves only an analytic function. Each star, it is evident, symbolizes many characteristics, some of which may involve clearly contradictory images. And correspondingly, although each of the subjects is an organic unity and responds as such, their reactions to the various movie stars vary in strength and direction, with many expressions of ambivalence. And finally, of course, our conclusions are limited by the characteristics of the sample. This study was primarily intended to be a preliminary non-quantitative study in an area in which little research has been done and it would be unwarranted to extend the conclusions to related types of popular hero symbols or to social class groups as a whole.

Frederick Elkin is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at McGill University.

INTEREST PATTERNS OF BEST AND POOREST STUDENT TEACHERS¹

Raymond E. Schultz and Merle M. Ohlsen

This is one of a series of investigations which attempt to identify techniques that discriminate between best and poorest student teachers. Here we report comparisons of responses by "best" and "poorest" student teachers on the Strong Vocational Interest Blank.

Before these comparisons could be made, some technique for identifying "best" and "poorest" student teachers was necessary. After considering alternative methods, it was decided to use team judgments of student teacher supervisors. The two groups were chosen at conferences of University of Illinois supervisors for each teaching area. Each student's strengths and weaknesses were discussed and recorded. The method of procedure was as follows: First, they selected the best student teacher; then the poorest was selected. This process was continued until the best 15 per cent and the poorest 15 per cent (100 in all) were selected. These students were enrolled in student teaching during spring semester of 1951.

Form M of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank was completed by 28 of the "best" and 29 of the "poorest" men students. Twenty-two of the "best" and 19 of the "poorest" women students completed Form W of the Strong. The sample represented all secondary teaching fields and the elementary field with exception of special education students.

The chi-square test was used to identify those instances in which the responses of "best" and "poorest" groups were significantly different.² Since Forms M and W differ, the responses of men and women were treated separately.

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF ITEM RESPONSES

The two groups of men students made responses significantly different at the 5 percent level of confidence for 18 of the 400 items comprising the men's form. Significantly different responses by the two groups of women occurred for 24 of the 400 items comprising the women's form. For both of these comparisons, the number of significant items could be accounted for by chance. This seems to give evidence that the Strong is not a suitable instrument for predicting teaching success when all items are considered together.

¹ This research was financed by a grant from the Bureau of Research and Service, College of Education, University of Illinois. We are grateful to Carol Fitch for her statistical assistance. The tests were administered and scored by the Student Counseling Bureau at the University of Illinois.

² J. P. Guilford, *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1950. pp. 169-179.

However, since responses of men and women had to be analyzed separately, the sample was reduced to a point where a conclusive evaluation of the test on a total-response basis is unwise. A logical analysis provides another basis for drawing inferences as to the value of the Strong for predicting teaching success.

This second type of analysis was accomplished by examining the items which received significantly different responses. This procedure produced interesting results when a comparison was made of those items which were assessed differently by the two groups. These patterns, which are described in subsequent paragraphs, bear close resemblance to those identified by Thurston who applied factor analysis to the vocations of the Strong and identified four factors. These were scientific interest, language interest, business interest, and interest in people.³

Item responses of men.—Differences in the vocational interests and preferences of the two groups of male students provide some patterns worth noting. The "best" group reported preferences on 10 items significantly more often than the "poorest" group. Five of these items imply social service, i.e., working with people for the purpose of helping them. These items were: college professor, playground director, athletic director, social worker, and leadership in initiating group activities. This group also chose a number of items which give evidence of intellectual interest, such as college professor, magazine writer, speaking, civil engineer, and scientific research worker.

By contrast, the "poorest" men student teachers selected not one interest or vocational preference which involves social service (with the possible exception of liking foreigners) significantly more often than did the "best" group. They reported preferences involving dealing with things, working by themselves or working with people in a manipulative capacity for the purpose of personal gain. Further, only one of their choices, corporation lawyer, indicates intellectual interest. Several preferences such as auto salesman, specialty salesman, and waiter may indicate an avoidance of or dislike for activities requiring intellectual prowess for success. The responses to occupations such as typist, office clerk, and auto racer were significantly different primarily because the "poorest" group indicated an indifference toward them, whereas most of the "best" group disliked them. This same condition accounted for significant differences in responses to items relating to emotional security. Most of the "best" group reported that they disliked nervous people, gruff men, emotional peo-

³L. L. Thurston, "A Multiple Factor Study of Vocational Interests," *Personnel Journal*. 10:198. 1931.

ple, while a majority of the "poorest" group was indifferent to these types of people.

Item responses of women.—The significantly different interests of the "best" and "poorest" women groups followed patterns similar to those of the two groups of men. The "best" group indicated preferences which gave them opportunities to direct the thinking and improve the lives of others. Their choices included radio lecturer, probation officer, Jane Adams—social worker, interest the public in building homes, and public speaking. Social consciousness was further exhibited through their interest in Negroes, contributing to charities, teetotalers, religious people, ministers, very old people, and the study of economics and sociology. Intellectual interests of this group are revealed by their preference for philosophy, calculus, speaking, economics, and sociology. However, unlike the "best" men group, some of their choices—especially tea room proprietor and waitress—were not of an intellectual nature but do involve associating with people.

The choices of a majority of the "poorest" women group indicate that they considered salary to be of prime importance in selecting occupations. This might be interpreted as evidence that their primary motive for entering the teaching profession was personal gain. None of the statistically significant choices of this group shows a social service orientation. They, more often than the "best" group, reported preferences related to the home, personal well-being, and working with inanimate objects. Their intellectual interests were also fewer than those of the "best" group.

OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS

Scoring of the Strong provides occupational ratings which show the relative level of interest for a variety of occupations.⁴ Thirty-four occupational preferences are provided on the men's form and 23 on the women's form. For the purpose of this phase of the study, differences at the 10 per cent level of confidence have been accepted as significant. Table 1 shows the occupational ratings on which the "best" and "poorest" men student teachers differed at the 10 percent level.

The "best" men had occupational ratings different from the "poorest" men for 10 of the 34 occupational preferences. Two of these ratings received by the "best" group, city superintendent of schools and YMCA physical director, were significant at the 1 percent level. Their ratings on two others, personnel director and mathematics-science teachers, were significant at the 5 percent level. These ratings support the choices of this group on individual items. It should be

⁴E. K. Strong, Jr., *Vocational Interests of Men and Women*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1943. pp. 67-68.

TABLE 1
Occupational Ratings on Which Best and Poorest Men Student Teachers Differed at the 10 Percent Level of Confidence¹

I. Chosen Significantly More Often by the Best Student Teachers		Level of Confidence	C	Distributions of Ratings				
				C+	B-	B	B+	A
1.	City School Superintendent	.01						
a.	Best student teachers		4	5	4	8	3	3
b.	Poorest student teachers		8	8	7	2	2	0
2.	Y. M. C. A. Physical Director	.01						
a.	Best student teachers		1	1	3	5	8	9
b.	Poorest student teachers		2	3	9	3	4	6
3.	Personnel Director	.05						
a.	Best student teachers		2	2	1	5	6	11
b.	Poorest student teachers		5	4	4	3	4	7
4.	Mathematics-science Teachers	.05						
a.	Best student teachers		0	0	2	9	8	8
b.	Poorest student teachers		3	3	2	5	7	7
5.	Osteopath	.10						
a.	Best student teachers		4	4	0	6	8	5
b.	Poorest student teachers		5	5	5	2	6	4
6.	Minister	.10						
a.	Best student teachers		3	6	3	6	6	3
b.	Poorest student teachers		8	7	3	5	2	2
II. Chosen Significantly More Often by the Poorest Student Teachers		Level of Confidence	C	Distributions of Ratings				
				C+	B-	B	B+	A
1.	Carpenter	.10						
a.	Poorest student teachers		13	2	4	6	2	0
b.	Best student teachers		12	4	8	1	2	0
2.	President of a Manufacturing Concern	.10						
a.	Poorest student teachers		11	4	6	5	0	1
b.	Best student teachers		11	10	3	1	2	0
3.	Office Manager	.10						
a.	Poorest student teachers		3	6	3	8	2	5
b.	Best student teachers		10	5	3	2	4	3
4.	Pharmacist	.10						
a.	Poorest student teachers		3	5	5	4	7	3
b.	Best student teachers		10	5	3	2	4	3

¹ Calculated from the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Revised Form M)

noted that three of these occupations directly involve teaching while the fourth, personnel director, involves working with people.

There were four occupations, none related to teaching or social service, for which the interest ratings favored the "poorest" group. These were president of a manufacturing concern, office manager, pharmacist, and carpenter.

For only one of the women's occupational ratings was the difference significant at the 10 per cent level of confidence. A significantly greater number of the "best" group than the "poorest" group received occupational ratings considered desirable for YWCA workers.

SUMMARY

This investigation dealt with analyzing Strong Vocational Interest Blank responses made by a group of "best" and a group of "poorest" student teachers. Although the working sample was too small to permit a conclusive evaluation of the Strong's ability to discriminate

between these two groups, the analysis revealed some relationships that warrant further study.

Most noteworthy of the relationships revealed were the "best" students' interest in working with people, selecting occupations involving teaching, and pursuing intellectual interests. The "poorest" students tended to avoid occupations related to teaching and to select those which offered personal gain. They also were inclined to consider salary the most important prerequisites for selecting occupations and failed to identify themselves with interests requiring considerable intellectual ability.

However, before this instrument or any revision can be used with confidence for predicting teaching success and/or guiding students in or out of teaching, another important step is necessary. A measure of the stability of interests must be obtained. College courses may greatly affect the consistency of scores of some students between the time they enter college and student teaching. Likewise, the student teaching experience may bring out or develop interest in teaching on the part of some students. These possibilities all complicate the development of predictive instruments. They also illustrate the need for much additional research before the value of the Strong as a predictive instrument can be determined.

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THE VALUE OF FIELD WORK EXPERIENCES

Blanche Persky

The controversy concerning the relative merits of book learning and practical experience has been concerning educators and citizens for many years. It was not so very long ago that a college education was considered to be of negative value for some members of our society—too much book learning spoiled a man for honest productive labor. Today, within the ranks of higher education itself the problem is still being debated, with the arguments being concerned with whether effective education is achieved more economically by keeping the student in a classroom absorbing the accumulated knowledge available in text books, or whether education in the full sense is achieved more easily by giving students practical, first hand opportunities to learn as part of their educational experience.

Many varieties of curricula have been tried in an attempt to achieve the best possible balance between abstract and concrete learning. The Antioch College program is one example; at Goddard College in Vermont two months of the school year are devoted to work experience away from the college, which may or not be related to the curriculum for which the student is enrolled; Sarah Lawrence College similarly has recognized the value of off-campus work opportunities, and throughout the country similar plans are being tried with varying degrees of success. A study of these programs seems to indicate that one of the essentials for their success is the degree to which the college keeps in touch with the quality of the work opportunity provided for the student as well as with the quality of the student's performance.

In teacher education this theory of learning through practical experience is becoming increasingly accepted. It is no longer necessary to defend the truth that one can learn more about children by living and working with them than by reading about them in a text book or by hearing about them from the lecture platform. The text book and the lecture have their place but their value appears to be enhanced in direct ratio to the amount and quality of real experience which makes them come alive.

To a considerable extent the truth of this contention is confirmed by a study which was made of the program for the training of early childhood and elementary school teachers at New York University. The evaluation of this program was based on the opinions of 179 graduates who completed their training during the years 1941 to 1952.

This article will not concern itself with those aspects of the evaluation which deal with specifics of course content and the like. It will, however, show how important graduates consider actual field experiences to be in their pre-service training. One excellent example of this is the opportunity which is provided each year for a group of seniors to do part of their student teaching in a situation that calls for twenty-four hour a day living with children. These students join the children and the staff of the Little Red School House (a private elementary school) in the last month of the school year which is spent in a country environment. The value of this opportunity is emphasized by the following excerpts of comments made by the student teachers:

I really learned about the abilities and limits of the children. Their behavior patterns as individuals became clear and obvious. Physical, emotional and social needs became apparent. I think I developed a good understanding of these things by living with the group.

Behavior and its changes in a small and large group became easier to comprehend. The constant changing relationships were apparent; child to child, child to group, child to teacher, and child to student teacher. I learned the extent to which children are adaptable.

I learned just how much of a job it really is to be responsible for children. Having a group of my own sharpened the experience and the learning. Holding a class without a teacher taught me to sharpen my awareness and to anticipate the things which are liable to happen. I now feel capable and secure in making decisions concerning children.

In general I feel that the experience obtained during this country session has been the most fruitful of any that I have had thus far.

By living with so many people, both adults and children, I learned to understand their needs and desires as human beings, and to respect them.

To put it very simply, after my experience in the country I feel very good about myself. These weeks were as full as an equivalent number of months in the city; working with the children, student teachers and teachers helped me to grow and to come into myself in many respects. My relationships with both the children and adults became more mature. Me, myself and I became they and we.

I began to see children as complete human beings instead of the nine to three o'clock portion as in the city. It helped me to understand their needs more fully.

We learned how to work within limitations of area, facilities and materials. We learned how to utilize the environment for teaching purposes and how to make it meaningful for the children. The world around us is a fascinating place and learning can take place in any part of it. We learned how to understand and to teach the interdependence of life—people, plants, and animals upon each other, on the level of a six year old. Although the knowledge was there before we became much more aware of its subtle teaching implications.

Living with children all day and night and seeing them in many situa-

tions gave me a more complete understanding of not only these children but of all children.

Although we were well acquainted with the needs and desires of children from our professional courses, and the ways to satisfy them, by living with six year olds twenty-four hours a day, we were given every opportunity to put into practice many of the ideas and suggestions we had learned in our courses and to apply them directly to the many problems we encountered in dealing with the children. We grew professionally through trial and error and through constructive criticism, in learning not only how to deal with individual children, but also how to deal with difficult situations.

Graduates who participated in the evaluation of the program were asked to indicate those experiences which were most helpful to them in their professional preparation. Fifty-nine percent listed student teaching and observation and participation as being most significant.

In an evaluation of the total curriculum on the basis of specific courses, 146 out of 147 graduates said that student teaching was of genuine value and 142 said the same for observation and participation. These two courses, both of them involving first hand experiences in the field ranked highest of all the courses in the program.

Further evidence of the value of on-the-job learning is given in the responses to the following question:

Which of the following aspects of the courses that you took did you find most helpful?

- Lectures
- Class Discussions
- Student reports
- Individual assignments
- Assigned readings
- Recommended bibliographies
- Term papers
- Individual conferences with instructors
- Formal examinations
- Socialized examinations
- Films or other visual aids
- Field work
- Trips
- Others

The unquestioned positive evaluation of field work is evidenced by the tabulation of the responses to the above question. It is interesting to note that field work ranks highest, while class discussion, of which participation and identification are a part, ranks second in value.

Evaluation of Teaching Practices in Order of Ratings of Positive Value

Field work	97%
Class discussions	87%
Lectures	74%
Individual conferences	68%
Trips	59%
Student reports	53%
Individual assignments	50%
Films and visual aids	47%
Assigned readings	39%
Term papers	35%
Recommended bibliographies	24%
Socialized examinations	23%
Formal examinations	3%

Graduates who expressed positive opinions about the value of field work gave the following reasons:

Practical experience. Saw in practice what we learned.
 Put theories to work.
 Better understanding of the multi-dimensional aspects of teaching.
 Learning by doing.
 Saw teaching in action.
 Direct experience with natural situations.
 Direct value in my teaching career.
 I learn best by example.
 Opportunity to observe an experienced person.
 It's good to be useful while learning.
 First hand experience.
 Good for practical on the spot needs of new teachers.
 Picked up wonderful ideas and knowledge of children.
 Experience in various types of schools invaluable.
 Broader view of education as it exists.
 Working with other professionals broadened outlook.
 Excellent preparation.
 In order to understand children you must observe them.
 Our best tools in the field.
 Important to actually be part of a situation, with meaningful responsibility.
 I never felt ill at ease in a classroom.
 Gained confidence.
 This became the real test—no longer just theory.
 Invaluable.
 Stimulating.
 A challenge
 Real problems worked out.

Good evidence was obtained to bear out the contention that success in the field, specifically student teaching, may be expected to lead to success on the job. That students who are successful in their

pre-service student teaching may be expected to be effective teachers is substantiated by the following facts:

1. Eighty-three percent (83%) of the graduates who received two grades of "A" in student teaching were rated by administrators as either outstanding or successful teachers.
2. No graduate who had received "A" for both semesters of student teaching was rated as a poor or mediocre teacher.
3. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of those who received one "A" and one "B" were rated as either outstanding or successful teachers.
4. No graduate who received one "A" and one "B" was rated as mediocre or poor.
5. Sixty-one and one half percent (61.5%) of those who received "B" for both semesters were rated as either outstanding or successful.
6. Of the graduates who received "B" for both semesters only one was rated as mediocre and only one was rated as poor.

In times past it was accepted as valid that the woman's place was in the home and the teacher's place was in the classroom. Any extension of activities beyond these confines was frowned upon. Today it is accepted fact that good wives and mothers may and should be active citizens and that intelligent women of integrity can successfully combine both home and career. Increasingly there is awareness that the challenging stimulating teacher is a person who plays an active citizenship role and that moreover, she has, by virtue of her background and training, a definite responsibility to her community. However, there is still an educational lag related to this concept; we give future teachers opportunity to get practical classroom experience as part of their pre-service training, but we give them little or no practical supervised opportunity to work as citizens of a community and to contribute to its growth and welfare.

Some time ago specific efforts were made at New York University to encourage senior students to participate in community activities as an integral part of their teaching responsibility. Principals of schools to which students were assigned were asked to cooperate in these efforts, but unfortunately the results of this approach were not too satisfactory. The amount and quality of the activities which were encouraged by principals varied from some attendance at meetings of the local P.A.L. (Police Athletic League) to school clerical work. It was realistically demonstrated that many school administrators are as much in need of encouragement and guidance in civic

participation as prospective teachers. It has moreover been shown by the study being reported upon that the administrator's evaluation of a teacher's effectiveness has little relationship to that teacher's acceptance of community responsibilities.

The limited extent and superficiality of so-called "civic work" in which graduates have participated is indicated by the following tabulation of the activities in which they have engaged:

**COMMUNITY OR CIVIC WORK IN WHICH GRADUATES
HAVE PARTICIPATED**

<i>Activity</i>	<i>No. of Responses</i>
Parent Teacher Association	17
Drives such as Red Cross, Cancer, Cerebral Palsy, Heart	15
Philanthropic groups	10
Church or Synagogue Women's Organizations	8
Political Activity	6
School Boards	6
Community Improvement Work (Playgrounds, Traffic)	5
Community Center Work	5
Sunday School	5
Hospital Volunteer	4
Bnai Brith	4
Girl Scout Leader	4
Theatre Group	3
Civic Association	3
Community Chest	2
Volunteer Camp Counselor (Underprivileged children)	2
Youth leader at Church or Synagogue	2
Child Study groups	2
Adult Education group	2
Choral group	2
Gray Lady	1
Red Cross Volunteer—Japan	1
American Association of University Women	1
Women's Club	1
Association for Help of Retarded Children	1
Zionist Organization	1
United World Federalists	1
Coach for Children's Baseball team	1
Minister's wife and related activities	1
Community recreation	1
United Nations Edu. Scientific and Cultural Organization	1
Garden Club	1
League of Women Voters	1
Civil Defense	1

Two related conclusions may be drawn from this consideration of the value of actual field work experience in the pre-service training of teachers. First, it has been well demonstrated that the amount

and quality of student teaching have a direct relationship to professional classroom effectiveness. Second, there must be further consideration and study of the method of making teachers willing and able to act as effective citizens and community leaders. If we accept the validity of a teacher's responsibility beyond the walls of her classroom, and if we also accept the truth that opportunities for real experience are an integral aspect of effective teaching, then teacher training programs must provide first hand experiences in community participation for every prospective teacher.

Throughout the curriculum, whether it be a four or a five year program, there should be opportunities for increasingly extensive and increasingly deep experiences with groups of children. Concurrently there should be increasingly extensive and deep experiences in community and civic responsibility. If true education is essentially education for effective citizenship then we must accept the reality of the fact that a teacher cannot lead children beyond her own horizons.

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THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF TEACHING AS JUDGED BY PARENTS OF DIFFERING¹ SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

William F. Anderson, Jr.

Since parents influence the vocational selections of sons and daughters and often bring pressure to bear upon their selections, a study of parental attitudes toward teaching should further our understandings of the reasons for the acceptability or non-acceptability of teaching as a vocation for today's adolescents.

The purpose of the present paper is to report on an investigation of the relationships between socio-economic status and certain parental attitudes towards the teaching profession.² The specific questions reported on here are: 1. Do parents of different socio-economic status have similar or dissimilar attitudes toward the advantages and disadvantages of the teaching profession? 2. As viewed by parents of differing socio-economic status, what are the advantages and disadvantages of the teaching profession? 3. How do parental attitudes toward the

¹ Paper read at American Educational Research Association, St. Louis, Mo. March 1955.

² A report of additional parental attitudes toward teaching was made in the *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 45, No. 6, Oct. 1954.

teaching profession compare with attitudes toward several other professions; medicine and bookkeeping for sons, nursing and stenography for daughters?

PROCEDURES

A questionnaire was constructed to facilitate the investigation of the listed questions. Expression of attitudes was obtained by asking the parents of a selected group of high school pupils to respond to twelve statements about medicine, teaching and bookkeeping for sons; nursing, teaching and stenography for daughters. Past research of Richey and Fox, and also the Metropolitan School Study Council facilitated the selection of these testaments.³ ⁴ Two vocations other than teaching were included since it was believed that responses would be improved if the real purpose was made less obvious. The mean ranking of each statement is accepted as a measure of attitude.

The following are, in part, the instructions employed. "In this part of the questionnaire we are seeking information about how you feel toward three occupations. Following each occupation is a list of statements. You are asked to think about each statement and to judge how strongly you agree or disagree with it in light of the occupation being rated" . . . "Place a figure (1) in front of the statements which you strongly agree with . . . Place a figure (5) in front of the statements you strongly disagree with."

The questionnaire was administered to parents of certain of the six hundred sixty-six tenth grade students in the four public secondary schools of Cedar Rapids, Iowa in the spring of 1952.

By use of the occupation of the wage earning parent, which in most cases was the father, and the address, an estimate of the social status of pupils was made. This amounted to a preliminary screening. Each pupil was placed in one of four lists based on this initial social class estimation; upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, and lower. From each list a randomly drawn tentative sample was selected. To this sample the Index Status Characteristics, I.S.C., developed by Warner, Meeker and Eells, was applied.⁵ When necessary, adjustments were made; the sample appeared as follows: from each of four

³ Richey, Rowert W., and William H. Fox, "A Study of Some Opinions of High School Students with Regard to Teachers and Teaching," *Bull. of School Education*, Indiana University, Vol. 27, No. 4, July 1951.

⁴ Metropolitan School Study Council, Education Dynamics Committee of 1946-47, "A Study to Discover the Attitudes of High School Seniors, Teachers and Parents Toward the Profession of Teaching," Metropolitan School Study Council, New York, 36 pp., 1947.

⁵ Warner, W. L., M. Meeker, and K. Eells, *Social Class in America*, Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1949, pp. 121-159.

social classes sixty parents responded; thirty were parents of sons and another thirty were parents of daughters, making a total of 240. An equal number of fathers and mothers responded in each social class. In the discussion of the findings, the attitudes of parents of sons are separate from those of parents of daughters.

Each parent selected in the tentative sample was personally contacted by the writer. This contacting interview had as its aim the establishing of sufficient rapport to bring about acceptance of the questionnaire. During the interview, information needed to complete the I.S.C. was gained. Where needed, corrections were made as indicated above. A date was set for personally picking up the completed questionnaires. If upon returning to the parent, the questionnaire was not completed, a second date was set for pick-up purposes.

Cooperation was furthered by the assistance of the superintendent of schools who wrote a letter of introduction which was shown to the parents by the interviewer. In these ways cooperation was obtained from ninety-two percent of the families contacted.

FINDINGS

Do the views expressed by parents regarding the advantages and disadvantages of teaching vary with socio-economic status? Although differences exist, in general, the mean ratings of these statements did not vary much with social class. When one social class agreed or disagreed with a statement the other classes rated the statement similarly. However, certain statements did produce statistically significant attitudinal differences among the four social classes. Hereafter when significant difference is employed it refers to a difference that is statistically significant at the 5% level or beyond. The reader can see that the social classes responded differently to the statement, "Teaching gives one the opportunity to meet the most interesting people." The upper-middle class parents of sons expressed a neutral attitude (mean 2.73) while the upper, and lower-middle classes judged this to be one of the advantages of the profession; these differences are statistically significant. The attitudes of parents of daughters did not vary significantly with social class on this statement.

Upper class parents of sons agreed that one of the most appealing aspects of teaching is the opportunity to work with young people. Although the upper-middle and lower-middle classes believed this is true, those parents were significantly less impressed with the opportunity. Similarly, the lower class parents of sons were in higher agreement with this statement than the lower middle class; this difference is significant.

The parents of daughters rated this statement somewhat differently than parents of sons. The upper-middle and lower-middle class parents rated the opportunity to work with young people as one of the greatest advantages of the profession while the upper and lower classes were relatively less impressed with this opportunity. The means of the upper and lower-middle classes differed significantly.

Parents of sons, from all four social classes, expressed the attitude that teachers do not receive due recognition. However, the lower-middle class differed significantly from all other classes by feeling less strongly about this lack of recognition. This would seem to indicate that parents of the lower-middle class would not reject teaching as a career, for this reason, as readily as the other social classes. Parents of daughters also rated this lack of recognition as a disadvantage of the profession but here the parents of the upper-middle class felt less strongly than the other social classes. In one instance, between upper-middle and lower classes, the difference was statistically significant. This suggests that the upper-middle class parents of daughters would find this lack of recognition less disturbing and would be less likely to reject the profession on this basis.

The duties of a teacher require him to work long hours is another statement that produced differences in the attitudes of parents of sons. The upper-middle class rated this statement as less true than the other classes. Two of these differences, between upper-middle and lower, and between upper-middle and lower-middle were statistically significant. The attitudes of parents of daughters did not vary significantly with social class on this statement.

Both groups, parents of sons and parents of daughters, from all four social classes, judged teachers to have the opportunity for long and interesting vacations although the parents from the upper class seemed relatively more sure that this is true. The differences between the upper and lower classes were statistically significant for both sets of parents.

Now turning to the question, what are the advantages and disadvantages of teaching as viewed by parents of differing socio-economic status? Both groups, parents of sons and parents of daughters, judged teachers to be working in one of the most important and highly respected professions. The duties of a teacher were rated as interesting and enjoyable. Another advantage is the appealing opportunity teachers have for working with young people. This seems in accord with still another advantage; the opportunity that teaching gives for meeting the most interesting people. Also, these parents judged teachers to have the opportunity for long and interesting vacations. This hardly

seems consistent with the attitude that one of the greatest disadvantages of the profession is its relatively low income. Another disadvantage is the lack of recognition that people give to teachers' efforts; parents of sons thought this to be somewhat more true than parents of daughters. Thus the teaching profession does have certain favorable as well as unfavorable qualities which influence its selection as a vocation for sons and daughters.

Certain of the statements produced mean responses of approximately 3.0, the neutral position, suggesting that these puzzled parents most. Included here were the statements, "The duties of a teacher require him to work long hours," and, "A teacher enjoys a sufficient amount of personal freedom." The last statement producing a neutral mean response was, "A teacher has the opportunity for advancement and security." The upper class judged this to be less true than the other classes but these differences were not statistically significant owing to widely different responses within each social class as evidenced by the large standard deviations.

It is an interesting observation that the ratings of parents of daughters, were, in general, similar to the ratings of parents of sons. A couple of exceptions to this observation have possible significance. Parents of daughters felt more strongly about the statement that teachers should have more personal freedom than they now enjoy; this suggests that these parents feel that female teachers are confronted with somewhat stronger cultural restrictions than male teachers. On the other hand, parents of sons rated the relatively low income of a teacher as a greater disadvantage than parents of daughters.

Now moving to the third question, how do the parental attitudes toward the teaching profession compare with attitudes toward several other professions; medicine and bookkeeping for sons, nursing and stenography for daughters? Teaching, as rated by parents of sons, compared unfavorably with one or both of medicine and bookkeeping on the following basis. All of the following differences are statistically significant at the 5% level of significance or beyond. Parents agreed that this is true of a teacher or bookkeeper. They judged the bookkeeper to have more personal freedom than either the teacher or physician. Medicine offers one the opportunity for advancement and future security but this is not true of bookkeeping or teaching. Teachers were rated as not receiving due recognition for their efforts; to a lesser degree this is true of bookkeepers, while physicians do receive recognition. These, then, are some of the factors that lessen the attractiveness of the teaching when compared with other professions.

On the other hand, the parents of sons favorably compared teach-

ing with the other professions on the following statements. Medicine and teaching were rated as highly important and among the most respected professions; these two characteristics are not true of bookkeeping. Both medicine and teaching were rated as interesting and enjoyable, once again, this is not true of bookkeeping. Two of the advantages of teaching that sets it aside from the other two professions are the opportunities it gives for meeting the most interesting people, and for working with young people; these judgments were not made of medicine or bookkeeping. And as mentioned, teachers were judged to have the opportunity for long and interesting vacations, neither medicine nor bookkeeping have this advantage. These, then, are some of the chief inducements of the teaching profession as viewed by these parents of sons.

The comparison of the mean ratings of teaching, nursing and stenography, as rated by parents of daughters, show teaching in an unfavorable light on the following statements. All the following differences are significant at the 5% level of significance or beyond. The income of a teacher was judged to be low, to a lesser degree this is also true of a stenographer, but a nurse's income was rated as relatively high. Teacher's opportunities for advancement were rated as less favorable than those of the nurse. Teachers were rated as receiving relatively less recognition for their efforts than nurses and stenographers. And last in this list is the judgment that the teacher has relatively less personal freedom than the stenographer; attitudes toward the teacher and the nurse did not differ significantly on this statement.

Now looking at those statements in which teaching compared favorably with nursing and stenography. Both teaching and nursing were rated as highly respected and important professions; stenography did not receive these high ratings. Parents agreed that teaching is very interesting and enjoyable; both nursing and stenography were rated lower on these qualities. The opportunity to work with young people is an advantage that teaching does not share with either of the other two professions. And now to make it unanimous, teachers were judged by these parents to have an opportunity for long and interesting vacations that neither the nurse nor stenographer possess.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Although the parents of the four social classes expressed similar attitudes toward the advantages and disadvantages of the teaching profession certain differences were noted that have possible significance for those interested in the recruitment and advancement of teachers.

1. Lower-middle class parents of sons, of this study, less readily rejected the teaching profession on the basis of low recognition than did the other social classes. Among parents of daughters the upper-middle class felt that this is less of a disadvantage than the other social classes. Thus it seems probable that these two social classes would find the lack of recognition less disturbing and would be less likely to reject the profession on the basis.
2. The upper and lower-middle class parents of sons rated the opportunity that teaching gives to meet the most interesting people as one of the greatest advantages of the profession while the upper-middle class expressed a neutral attitude toward this statement. The attitudes of parents of daughters did not vary significantly on this statement.
3. The upper-middle and lower-middle class parents rated the opportunity to work with young people as less of an advantage than the upper class, while the upper-middle class parents of daughters rated this as one of the greatest advantages of the profession with the upper and lower classes relatively less impressed with this advantage.
4. According to these parents the advantages of the profession are; its high importance, the high respect others have for teachers, the highly interesting and enjoyable duties, the opportunity to work with young people, and the opportunity for long and interesting vacations.
5. The greatest disadvantages of the profession are its low income and the lack of recognition that people give to teacher's efforts.
6. Parents of sons compared teaching more than favorable with bookkeeping but somewhat unfavorable with the physician, the parents of daughters compared teaching very favorably with nursing and, in general, more than favorably with stenography.

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PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD BOY-GIRL RELATION

Alice Crow

A mother of two teen-agers recently was heard to say that she mistakenly had thought that babyhood days were the most difficult ones for parents. Baby troubles were mild as compared to the difficulties that she now is experiencing with her growing son and daughter. Adolescence appears to her to be an almost impossible period for parents.

This woman's children are two fine young people whose earlier years, filled with childish activity and fun, were relatively serene and peaceful. Although they are active at school and at home, and successful in their high school studies, they are having difficulty in adjusting in their relations with members of the opposite sex. Their parents are sharing in these youthful struggles for desirable social status.

The sixteen-year-old girl is attractive but tall for her age. Her over average height combined with an attitude of shyness and reticence has resulted in her failure to achieve as many dates as she would like to have. High school boys seem to be too immature or not tall enough to suit her. She is in that period of adolescence during which a girl's interest centers in older men. At the same time, she realizes that the objects of her sentimental attachment would not bother with a high school junior. The girl's mother feels that she is going frantic trying to interest her dreamy, dissatisfied daughter in social activities appropriate to her age and maturity status.

The second child is a fifteen-year-old boy. He, too, is tall for his age and is successful in athletics. His problem is quite different from that of his sister. It seems to his mother that every girl in his high school wants to date him and be known as "his girl." Hence, as this mother attempts to draw her daughter into social activities, she is kept busy protecting her son from designing females.

PATIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING REQUIRED

The problem of this mother is not an uncommon one. We adults sometimes lose patience with adolescents. We expect them to be both dependent children and independent adults. Too often we forget our own adolescent growing pains, especially in relation to members of the opposite sex. Teachers sometimes act as though a young person's complete interest and attention should be given to school studies. Parents are torn between pride in their developing children and annoyance caused by the fact that the parent no longer seems to hold first place in adolescent affection.

Adolescent interest in members of the opposite sex and the urge to gain their attention are as old as the human race. Parental concern about boy-girl relations is not new. The primitive father's delight when a chosen suitor dragged the daughter by her hair to the marriage cave finds an echo in the modern father's sigh of relief when he has settled the bills for his daughter's wedding. Fathers as well as mothers hope that the marriage of their children releases them from further responsibility for the welfare of the young people. Sometimes such parental attitudes are correct. If they are wrong the cause may be found in attitudes developed during adolescence toward the opposite sex.

One characteristic of our present culture is the freedom that is enjoyed by boys and girls in their social life. Although most parents believe that this freedom is generally wholesome, they sometimes wish that we might return to the former custom of arranged marriages. Left to themselves, young people may become the victims of their own emotional urges. As they struggle toward fulfillment of their innate desires and interests they may engage in activities that are harmful to themselves and disapproved by society. If they experience too great parental supervision of their social activities, they may develop attitudes of resentment which result in nonconforming behavior that result in disastrous aftermaths.

Freedom but *not license* in boy-girl relations should be encouraged by parents of adolescents. It is sometimes difficult for parents always to draw the fine line between acceptable freedom of boy-girl behavior and participation in unwholesome social activities. Parental problems in this area of human relationships are many. They include such matters as the age at which a boy or a girl should begin to date and with whom, the kind of date that is appropriate at the respective stages of adolescent development, the time for returning home from a date, and all the details of dress, grooming, use of the family car, amount of money to be spent and other accompaniments of the dating process.

Boy-girl attraction develops gradually. Teen-age interest in the opposite sex does not appear suddenly with the onset of puberty; yet, it does increase in intensity during the adolescent years. Too often parents act as though they believed that childhood and adolescence are two separate and related phases of development rather than that development is a continuous process. Attitudes and behavior begun during childhood usually continue with modifications through the adolescent years.

Wise parents are forward looking. They begin early in the child's life to encourage those attitudes toward himself or herself and toward

associates of both sexes that will help the young person to maintain emotional stability as he or she gradually comes to be stimulated by those sexual urges that constitute an important phase of adolescent development.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHILD'S SOCIAL RELATIONS

As soon as the young child begins to give indication of social awareness, he or she should experience opportunities in work and play with members of both sexes. Hence coeducation is desirable from the nursery school through all the years of a young person's school life. During childhood, boys and girls tend to participate in activities common to both sexes insofar as physical and mental abilities make such sharing of experience possible and desirable.

The sex factor is not likely to affect children's attitudes toward one another unless adults encourage the youngsters to differentiate between their boy and girl companions. By their supposedly jesting remarks, adults may develop attitudes of self-consciousness in the growing child. For example, no adult comments are made if two small girls walk home from school together, but if a little boy accompanies one of his little girl schoolmates to her home, some adults immediately seem unable to refrain from teasing the youngsters about their "girl" or "boy" friend. The situation becomes more serious if the boy happens to carry some of the girl's books or if, perchance, the boy fails one day to walk home with the girl. In the latter case, foolish adults are likely to make remarks such as "What's the matter? Has Henry stood you up?" or "Doesn't Mary like you any more? Has she a new boy friend?"

Comments such as those referred to in the foregoing and others of their ilk cannot fail to influence developing children. They learn to recognize the fact that adults expect them to act differently toward members of the opposite sex from the way they behave with those of their own sex. Sometimes, an attitude of shyness, reticence or embarrassment in the presence of the other sex is a resultant of such behavior. A seven-year-old girl was very fond of a young man who was a close friend of her parents. Their relationship was pleasant and wholesome. On one occasion, however, when her parents were encouraging him to marry, he said, laughingly, "Oh, I am waiting for Jane (their little daughter) to grow up. Then we're going to get married."

Although marriage meant no more to Jane than that parents are married, she became very much embarrassed and retorted with "I'm never going to marry." This led to further adult jesting. The little girl continued to be fond of her parents' friend, but she felt that she

had lost that free companionship with him that she formerly had enjoyed. Unfortunately this child, like many others, was too inexperienced to appreciate adult humor.

Children should be allowed to associate on an equal basis with companions of both sexes, yet as soon as they are old enough to recognize certain differences between the sexes, their questions should be answered simply and accurately by their parents. It is not the purpose of this paper to treat in detail this area. Various good books and pamphlets on the subject are available for parents' use. It is sufficient to say here that a child's beginning questions such as "Where do babies come from?" or "Why does my brother (or sister) look different from me?" as well as his later more thoughtful questions concerning matters dealing with sex should be answered simply and accurately. Parents are responsible for helping their child to become well-informed about his own physical structure and sexual functions and to develop wholesome and constructive attitudes toward boy-girl relations, marriage, and parenthood.

As we know, attitudes are caught as well as taught. This fact applies especially to the kind of social attitudes developed by impressionable young people. Children are sensitive to the relationship that exists between their parents, parental attitudes toward adult friends of both sexes, as well as parental attitudes toward children's relations with their peer groups.

Fortunate is the child whose home life reflects parental understanding, family cooperation and wholesome social attitudes. The home may be simple, but if it is clean and neat and the child is encouraged to bring to it his young friends of both sexes, he is experiencing the beginnings of those social attitudes that will be of great value to him during his adolescent period of increased interest in boy-girl relationships.

A teacher of a sixth-grade class in elementary school was shocked by the sophisticated attitude displayed by her pupils toward members of the opposite sex. She had not realized that these youngsters who are encouraged to be alert to current events do not limit their learning interests to civic and economic matters. They thrill to newspaper and radio reports of the love life of persons prominent in the news. They listen to adult comments concerning man-woman relations, divorce, and other matters having sexual import. Unless home attitudes and parental training are wholesome these immature young people are more than likely to engage in daydreaming, with themselves as the heroes of a love story, or even to experiment fumblingly with their schoolmates in one or another form of sexual behavior. Even though

their behavior is socially satisfactory, they may believe that they must assume an attitude of worldliness and sophistication.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS

A child does not suddenly become an adolescent. Physical growth and physiological changes develop gradually. Some children give evidence of these growth changes during later childhood. Their attitudes toward themselves and their peer associates give evidence of subtle differences that are not completely understood by themselves. Girls become shy in the presence of their former boy pals. They may "moon" over the picture of popular motion-picture actors or television performers. Little cliques of preadolescent girls may display silly, giggling attitudes in the presence of boys or may seem to evince an attitude of superiority to boys of their own age.

The preadolescent boy suddenly seems to lose interest in girls of his own age. With his boy pals, he tends to engage in games and other activities from which girls are excluded. Both boy and girl behavior represents a kind of "battle of the sexes" which is rooted in a developing but not fully recognized awareness of one another that results from the glandular changes that are taking place within them. As the child approaches puberty, he realizes that his attitude toward the other sex is different from what it was during childhood. His newer social approaches are uncertain unless his parents have prepared him intelligently for his new social status.

The young adolescent can be helped to make satisfactory adjustment during this critical period if his parents recognize the factors of influence that are affecting the young person and do their share in guiding his behavior and attitudes. The more sensible their own attitudes were toward boy-girl relations during their child's earlier years, the easier it will be for them to win the confidence of their adolescent son or daughter and to influence adolescent attitudes and behavior.

Although children, adolescents and adults are more like physically and psychologically than they are different, there are many variations or differences among individuals and within the individual himself. All adolescents seems to want to assert a rightly developing attitude of independence and release from earlier accepted adult control. They are neither children nor adults. The more they recognize their anomalous position, the more likely they are to indulge in one or more of the vagaries that are characteristic of the adolescent period of development. The teen-ager may seem to flaunt adult authority in spite of or perhaps because of a realization of his insecurity.

The boy may become unduly aggressive; he may act as though his parents' chief function is to serve him and to cater to his wishes;

he may tend to wear sloppy or overconspicuous clothes; he may assume a superior attitude toward younger children as well as toward adults; at the same time, in various ways, he may attempt to impress his peer groups—both boys and girls. An adolescent boy may become moody and unduly sensitive to the attitudes displayed toward him by others in his group, or he may develop a boisterous, self-assured attitude that serves as a cover-up of his inner feelings of insecurity.

For a teen-age boy to "lose face" among his peers is a major tragedy. Adults are not always aware of the things that may be tragic incidents. For example, a baby girl was born into a family of an 18-year-old boy. The lad loved his baby sister and was very proud of her. In fact, her cute ways became the subject of many talks between him and his pals. His mother made the mistake, however, of expecting this boy to take the baby for a daily airing in her carriage. Much as he liked her, this was too much for the sensitive adolescent. What would his pals think of his being a nursemaid? He was too well-trained to disobey his mother's request, but, as he laughingly said later, he could have throttled the child. The fact that his friends admired the baby he was wheeling along the streets did not lessen his embarrassment. Perhaps this incident indirectly caused him later to major in pediatrics and place emphasis in his professional career upon child care and parental attitudes toward children.

The behavior of growing girls is as unpredictable as that of their brothers, if not more so. They too struggle for self-realization, usually in more subtle ways than boys. Since the girl tends to mature earlier than do boys, she is likely sooner to become sensitive to changing relations between the sexes. Her tentative attempts to attract boys' attention may take various forms such as: coyness; affected mannerisms and speech; daydreaming, apparent indifference to boys or rudeness in their presence; extremes of dress, make-up and hair-do, or even encouragement of and participation in more or less serious petting activities.

Whether a growing boy or an adolescent girl causes parents greater concern is a moot question. Since the girl usually is expected to be more amenable to parental direction than is the boy, the teen-age girl may find her problem of growing up to be different from that of the boy but no easier. Her forms of adolescent rebellion are likely to be centered in the home. Home customs and conditions sometimes gain teen-age girl disapproval. She may be "ashamed" of her parents' mannerisms, speech patterns and dress modes. Furniture arrangement or the presence in the home of old-fashioned furnishings may "make it impossible" for her to bring her friends into the home. The presence of younger children in the home, especially when

they engage in to-be-expected teasing of their young lady sister can be a cause of youthful frustration unless parents are able to cope with the situation.

A teen-age girl seems to tend more than a boy toward the development of intense but short-lived fads and fancies. Joan, the fifteen-year-old daughter of socially and economically middle-class parents was fortunate enough to have her own room. She decided that her room was entirely too conventional. Her mother wisely agreed to redecorate the room if the girl herself did the work and kept the cost low. Joan gleefully accepted the challenge. Months were spent by her in planning, painting and rearranging. The result? The room was a startling study in severe black and white: black walls and floor, white furniture, inexpensive white drapes and bedspread. No hint of any other color was permitted. Never before had Joan been so careful about keeping her clothing in closets and dresser drawers. Nothing must interfere with her color scheme. For another month the room was the object of great admiration among her girl companions, some of whom received permission to follow her example.

During this period, Joan's mother commented upon the fact that Joan's interest in the ultra-modern would wane. The woman was right. Before a year had passed, the girl began to be annoyed by her earlier "childish" ideas and the room was again redecorated. This time it oozed dainty, lacy femininity.

Many examples could be cited similar to the foregoing. Manners, dress, hair-do and objects of adoration keep changing as the adolescent attempts in one way after another to assert himself as a person with all the rights and privileges that is owed him by adults. Parents need to understand their teen-age children, but, at the same time, with kindly firmness, control adolescent vagaries. No rigid rules can be constructed whereby all parents can be expected to guide all adolescent behavior. The mental and emotional characteristics of both parents and children need to be considered. There are, however, certain general principles that, if modified to meet individual situations, can be of value to parents who are sincerely interested in boy-girl relations.

1. The parents' own attitudes toward sexual matters and man-woman relations should be wholesome and worthy of imitation.
2. The adolescent should understand physical structure and physiological function as related to mating and parenthood.
3. Parents should do whatever they can to help adolescents meet desirable members of the opposite sex.
4. The adolescent should be encouraged to participate in group activities including members of both sexes. They also should

have the privilege of entertaining mixed groups in the home, but under parental supervision.

5. The adolescent gradually should experience independence from parental control in such matters as selection of clothes, furnishings of own room, spending of money allowance, assuming responsibilities in and outside the home, and the like. The extent to which the adolescent is allowed freedom in these matters is dependent upon the economic status of the family. The adolescent should know about family finances and how much money is available for his use.
6. Adolescent vagaries of dress, grooming, food tastes, mannerisms and the like should be understood by parents. Unless the young person carries his eccentricities to a point of social disapproval, parents should be patient, realizing that adolescent "fads" wear themselves out and disappear.
7. The young adolescent should be encouraged to limit his social activities to group situations or double dating.
8. The older adolescent should be permitted to engage in two-some dating, but should be encouraged to want parents to meet the boy or girl who is being dated, especially if the two are dating consistently.
9. The hour of return from a party or a date should be a matter of general agreement between parents and adolescents. Such factors as age of the adolescent, geographical distance, kind of party and needed time of arising the next day should be given consideration. Most adolescents are amenable to suggestions if parental approach seems to them to be intelligent and based upon sound reasoning. They resent what they term "adult intolerance toward and lack of understanding of adolescent needs and interests."
10. Finally, adolescents can be led but not driven. Attitudes developed during childhood become crystallized during adolescence. Sooner or later, every normal boy or girl develops an intense interest in boy-girl friendships or more intimate relationships. Fine ideals formulated and wholesome attitudes developed in the home from childhood onward act as safety valves that help prevent the young from becoming involved in "messy" situations. Such developed attitude habits aid him or her in maintaining self-control and personal dignity and in experiencing wholesome, satisfying relationships with members of the opposite sex.

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LABOR EDUCATION FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING

Orlie Pell

The American Labor Education Service has been concerned with educational techniques for over twenty-five years. As an adult education agency specializing in the field of workers education, ALES cooperates with all branches of the labor movement on the local, state and national level, and its activities are concerned with the development and training of leadership within labor groups as well as the provision of programs for union members not regularly serviced through organized educational channels.

Today ALES is experimenting with methods of stimulating trade unionists to an awareness and understanding of international affairs. A description of several of our projects will illustrate the techniques found effective. These techniques are based on the assumption that the good teacher builds on the concerns and problems of the students and through group discussion, stimulates thoughtful participation. Adequate content is essential, but such material is introduced in relation to existing needs, and opportunity is given the students to integrate such material with their own thinking through the give-and-take of informal discussion.

A School on the United Nations. Recognizing the value of inter-related study and field work, ALES in the fall of last year set up a week-long resident School on the United Nations. Its student body was made up of some fifty selected trade union members and leaders whose interest in world affairs had been stimulated in previous ALES programs and who were ready for more concentrated work. They came to New York City from places as distant as Denver, Atlanta and Montreal, to combine intensive study of the U.N. and the world climate in which it functions, with attendance at sessions of the General Assembly and conferences with Delegates and other U.N. personnel.

The study program was carefully planned. Several educators, knowledgeable on world affairs and experienced in teaching adult workers, formed the "faculty" members who carried on discussion of such basic issues as the work of the United Nations, the climate of international tensions, and the emergence of peoples in the under-developed areas. They were supplemented by a number of resource persons, including United Nations personnel, experts from fields of special interest, and workers and students from Europe, Asia and Africa. The latter were of special value in making the people and problems of other lands "come alive" for American workers.

The program was set up in such a way that presentation of factual information, discussion of this material by the students, and field

trips to the United Nations were inter-related. Morning sessions were used for presentation of material and for discussion in small round-table groups. In the afternoons, field trips to the U.N. were alternated with further sessions on topics of interest; evenings were utilized for special events.

Such first-hand experience in seeing and understanding the U.N. at work made a deep and seemingly enduring impression on the students, and was declared by them to be the most dramatic educational program in which they had ever taken part. The effectiveness of the school may be clearly seen in the enthusiasm with which the students, after their return home, worked to expand international education in their own communities. For example, a union in Colorado set up classes on the United Nations three times a week for three weeks, while in Iowa a series of eight classes on the U.N. were held, followed by a weekend institute devoted to world affairs. A union in Massachusetts, stimulated by members returning from the School, sought (and received) the cooperation of ALES in carrying on in New York a similar, though shorter, three-day institute on the United Nations for a selected group of their own members.

Plans for a second School on the United Nations are well under way, and the project bids fair to becoming an annual affair.

"Around the World in Two Days." A program serving a very different end was a two-day educational conference in cooperation with the International Association of Machinists-AFL for local officers and committee members out of the shops. Two hundred and thirty Machinists took part. The conference was designed to stimulate interest in international issues and to help unionists see the vital relation between their everyday interests and world affairs.

In this conference, background material was presented but the core of the program were carefully planned discussion groups, with able discussion leaders in the chair and experts present for referral of questions raised. This made possible stimulating discussion by the delegates themselves of such issues as the Point Four program, international trade, and our relationships with workers in Europe and Asia. On the last day, unanswered questions arising from these discussion groups were presented to a "panel of experts" who used them as the basis for the panel discussion. In this way their knowledge was utilized in close relation to the felt needs of the participants. Standards were high, both in the quality of leadership—leaders included union officials with experience in international concerns, university professors, government officials, adult educators—and in the level of interest and participation.

The success of the conference may be measured in part by the degree of participation achieved and the resulting confidence in this technique built up in the minds of the union leaders. One tangible result was an institute on international affairs the following year, initiated by some of the local union officers who had attended the conference. Another by-product was the inclusion in the national union's next annual convention of more extensive discussion of international issues, sparked by union members who had attended the conference. Later on, the national union requested ALES' assistance in arranging a somewhat similar conference, held recently in another geographical area.

A World Affairs Seminar. In contrast to this two-day conference to arouse interest on the part of rank-and-file trade unionists, a two-week resident "seminar" on world affairs was conducted for staff members chosen by their national unions or by the National CIO on the basis of their present responsibilities and their need for further international understanding in connection with their union jobs. The project, carried on in cooperation with the CIO, was attended by twenty-six men and women staff members on the state and national level.

The project was set up in a country lodge outside of Detroit where for the two-week period there were few distractions, and a concentrated program of study and discussion could be carried on. Each week was devoted to three units of study, on such topics as world populations and resources, the United Nations, world trade, and labor's role in the development of foreign policy. Various techniques were used: panel, discussion group, lecture, "buzz session" and "kaffee klatch," together with showings of films that could be used with their own groups back home. For trade unionists with international responsibilities, speakers, resources and discussion leaders needed to be experienced persons from the academic world and from government, and top labor leaders with special knowledge of international affairs.

In addition to the student group from the CIO, five labor delegates from other countries (Sweden, New Zealand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Haiti) lived, worked and played with the students for the two-week period. Through this close contact it was possible to learn of the economic and social problems of other countries but also the more human concerns of family and social living. Never again would Indonesia or Haiti be only a spot on a map, but the home of a friend. In giving serious thought to the question of how best they could stimulate the thinking of their own unions members on

world affairs, the American students became aware of the educational opportunities provided by visits of foreign teams to their communities, and looked forward to making good use of the foreign guests in their own programs of international education.

To those leaving the Seminar it was clear that no final "answers" had been reached. Two weeks of concentrated study was only a beginning for each individual who would continue the educational process in his own union and his own community.

A Three-Year Demonstration Center. All these techniques and many others were used extensively in the Greater Philadelphia Industrial Area International Education Project, sponsored jointly by the ALES and the Philadelphia Labor Education Association in cooperation with AFL and CIO unions. An ALES staff member, working out of the LEA office, enlisted the cooperation of union and community leaders in laying a foundation for an educational program. She made innumerable contacts with officers of city and county labor bodies, and officers and staffs of individual unions; and met with many small leadership groups such as shop stewards and executive boards. Informal discussion groups, roundtables, and film forums were held, and films and speakers were provided for union meetings. The content was chosen on the basis of the interest of the groups and reflected the concerns of industrial workers: current foreign economic programs; the objectives of U. S. foreign policy; the purpose and the functions of the United Nations; foreign trade and its effects on this country; trade unions in other countries; the programs of the International Departments of the AFL and CIO; and the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The process of stimulating international interest widened. More unions became involved, the Annual Conference of the LEA included sessions on world affairs, and cooperatives activities were carried on with the Philadelphia World Affairs Council. Then the time came for more specialized work with union leaders interested in strengthening their own techniques for carrying on education in international affairs, and Leadership Training Institutes were set up. Some fifty local trade union leaders would come together for a weekend; the program would include both content material on world issues and special sessions on methods of developing international education within union groups. Participants in these training institutes continued to take part in the Project while taking active responsibility for establishing international education in their regular union education programs.

Another type of orientation in international affairs for union

leaders has been a successful series of Breakfast Meetings, informal morning sessions at which men and women with outstanding international experience, such as Mrs. Roosevelt and Chester Bowles, met with groups of selected trade union officials to talk frankly about current world issues.

The most effective educational technique used in the Philadelphia Project turned out to be the one-day United Nations Study Tours. A group of union members, from a single union or from a cross-section of unions, met once a week for three weeks for discussion of the United Nations and some problem or area of the world in which they were especially interested, such as foreign trade or the Near East. This was followed by a day's trip to the United Nations headquarters, in which they took the tour of the U.N., attended one of the sessions, and had conferences with Delegates and other U.N. personnel who would be helpful in relation to their area of special interest. On their return, members of the group who were to report the study tour to their union would hold one or more meetings with the Project staff, to consider, and possibly try out, methods of presenting effectively what they gained from the experience. This process in itself was found to have immense educational value.

The Philadelphia Project, planned originally for one year, was extended to almost three years. Toward the end, the emphasis of the Project was focussed on building more extensive relationships between the unions and community agencies concerned with international affairs, and on working intensively with those unions who had demonstrated in the previous two years a consistent interest in world affairs and who had educational directors or other union officers with enthusiasm for international education. The most encouraging result of the Philadelphia Project is the degree to which a number of unions have been increasingly successful in seeing to it that consideration of international questions has become a part of their regular educational programs.

The techniques and basic educational approach seen in these sample programs are the outgrowth of experimentation with a variety of programs developed over the years to meet the changing needs of the labor movement. Today they are being utilized by ALES throughout its nation-wide International Project, an educational undertaking which has enabled thousands of trade union members from over five-hundred communities to gain a longer perspective on the world scene and a heightened awareness of their relation to human beings everywhere. It is a basic ALES aim to achieve continuity of educational development for as many of the participants

in its programs as possible, both through their participating in more advanced programs within the framework of the ALES Project and through their assuming increased responsibility for developing educational programs within their own organizations, building on the stimulus and techniques provided by the ALES-initiated projects. ALES searches continually for methods that will further this objective.

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CLOSURES IN EDUCATION

Jean K. Boek, Ph.D.

It can be easily observed that confusion exists within American education as to its purpose and methods. Perhaps the greatest awareness of this is on the part of those who control and who are within the school system. Many attempts are made by school teachers, administrators, and professors of education to dispel this confusion. These educators, however, are hampered in their efforts by the operation of what can be considered two circles within education. One of these circles is that of the occupational pathway of the educator and the other is the body of educational knowledge. One is closely associated with the other.

These two phenomena are called, circles, because of their self-containment. It is possible to move within them with no strong links to other sources of experience or knowledge. Some of the characteristics of these circles will now be delineated and suggestions made as to how the circles can be broken.

I. CIRCLE OF THE OCCUPATIONAL PATHWAY

Let us examine, first of all, the circle of the occupational pathway of the educator. One feature is that education is one of the few occupations in present-day American life which a person can enter as a child and remain in for the rest of his life. The educator can be said to enter his occupation with kindergarten where he first started being trained by teachers. The longer he remains within the school system the better his chance of being qualified to be a teacher. The more college and graduate training he obtains in education, the greater is the opportunity for him to stay within the educational field, since his chance of obtaining satisfactory prestige and salary positions increase with greater educational training. Persons in the most important policy-making and power-wielding positions within education are likely to be those having the longest indoctrination through educational courses and through experience in educational positions.

This self-contained system, or occupational circle, thus operates to eliminate those who have not been held in academic training for specified periods and tends to shut out those who have spent time in positions outside of the field. There is yet another characteristic of this circle. This is the general rank order of desirable positions within the educational occupation. A starting point is the practice teacher in college, and one of the important termini is the college professor of

education who trains teachers. Some of the intermediate points can be indicated.

The first position after practice teaching is the elementary or high school teacher. With teacher experience and graduate work, a person can move up the hierarchy into positions of supervisory teacher or principal of an elementary school. The succeeding administrative positions of secondary school principal, assistant to a superintendent, school superintendent, and district superintendent are largely occupied by men, who, in addition to specified training and experience, tend to have anglicized surnames and to fit into middle-class expectations of being married, of valuing mobility, and of possessing the proper symbols in home and office. In these positions, as in others of the hierarchy, there are many graduations of desirability based on relative size, wealth, and prestige of the different school systems and institutions.

Above the local administration is the state department of education where it is possible to occupy power posts in terms of policy, supervision, research, curriculum development, and finances. These posts are filled by both men and women, although, in general, the highest ones are occupied by men.

The next occupational step for men in top positions such as state commissioner of education and his assistants may be the United States Office of Education. For others in state departments, one aspiration is the staff of a college or university which appears to offer relative freedom in the work schedule, the chance to act as a paid consultant—perhaps to form a consulting firm using the college for prestige—time to write, and the opportunity to train future teachers. It thus is possible to traverse the occupational circle from a college undergraduate practice teacher to teacher and administrator in the public school system to state service, and to a teacher's college staff.

II. CIRCLE OF EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Accompanying this occupational circle is the circle of educational knowledge. The body of educational ideas tends to be closed off from other ideas because of the ways in which educators 1) initially receive their indoctrination, 2) find their thinking re-enforced by other educators, 3) conduct their research, and 4) run the schools.

Indoctrination. With respect to indoctrination, the more perfectly the prospective teacher learns the educational information presented to him in college, the greater the chance of his becoming an educator and remaining within the occupation. Persons who are imperfectly indoctrinated either turn to fields other than education or else remain in low levels of the occupational hierarchy.

Reenforcement. Reenforcement of educational thinking comes through reading publications, and associating with fellow teachers or administrators both on the job and during conferences. The information learned as an undergraduate acts as a frame of reference through which further ideas are selected and assimilated. Educational practices agreeing most closely with ideas already held are accepted most easily.

Research. In conducting their research, educators rely on the answers of others of their occupation to be the foundations of reports, and ultimately, the basis of college texts for incoming teachers and for policy making at state and local levels. It is the research realm that the circular nature of educational knowledge appears most obvious. An illustration of this process occurred recently during a large, expensive survey of "good" school practices for a state. As a first step in the survey, members of different teacher college staffs were asked to name the schools in which "good" practices were likely to be found. These schools were then each observed for a day by a team in order to record the "good" practices. Meantime, questionnaires were sent to school superintendents, professional educator organizations, PTA's, AAUW's, and other groups interested in education within the state. A three-day conference of the supervision and curriculum development organization was devoted to recording opinions of members as to what good practices consisted of. Meanwhile a staff member spent 18 months making a review of literature.

When data from all of these sources had been collected, they were hand tabulated by professional educators and given to one of them to write up. This portion of the work was influenced by advisory committees and consultants who formulated outlines and who made other decisions concerning content of the report. The report itself was admitted to be as much a reflection of the person writing it, and secondarily of his colleagues and advisors, as it was of all the sources from which information had been obtained. After the first draft was reviewed, parts that were at variance with ideas of the advisors or with current state education department policy were modified or deleted.

This project highlighted the effect of student indoctrination since survey data were accepted or rejected on the basis of the ideas learned by the investigators during their training. The staff sought reenforcement of their ideas through hiring consultants or arranging many professional meetings. The survey was conducted without formulation of a research design, theory, or even definitions of how "good" practices differed from others. Persons from whom information was

gathered were either educators or persons closely connected with the schools. Since results were intended for policy-making purposes by the state education department, one effect of the inbred accumulation of opinion was to reenforce the existing circle of educational knowledge.

The project demonstrates further the lack of a root system of educational knowledge. Education is neither adequately anchored to a theory of its own nor to a concept of the function of education in this society. The knowledge circle can be said to have the characteristics of a scholasticism because the basic tenets of education are rarely objectively examined by educators. A prevalent idea among educators is that "education is a good thing" and that their purpose is to justify and translate into practice rather than to examine this fundamental "truth."

School Administration. The philosophy and methods of running the schools and teaching hop from one fad to another and often end up in the original forms. In the process of change, neither the "older" nor the "newer" fashions are subjected to scientific evaluation. As a result, the relative effectiveness of either is not known. For example, strict classroom controls appeared to be deleterious to some youngsters, so less rigid discipline was advocated. When this did not appear to work very well, the shift was made to stronger discipline. In the changes involved here as well as in countless other examples, little more than hunches were used as evidence. Neither objective examination of the former procedure nor planning for controlled analysis of the present operation entered consideration to abandon the "old" or to inaugurate the "new."

In planning and implementing the school curriculum, most educators feel that they know very well what and how to teach children. Except as their program is modified by ideas from those few community members who control their jobs, educators are reluctant to accept suggestions for change from the community at large. Gearing the school to what a cross-section of people want, particularly if they are not power leaders in the community, is foreign to educational operation. Instead, educators consider it essential and proper for parents to come to the school for indoctrination into the latest educational ideas. They regard lay opinion as uninformed with respect to what is "really" best for students. Parents advocating stricter marking or other procedures at variance with current education fashion are regarded by school people as old-fashioned and cranky.

These barriers erected within education against the entrance of further knowledge, coupled with the ideological and socio-economic

selection of persons who become educators contribute to perpetuation of the educational circles.

III. HOW THE CIRCLES CAN BE BROKEN

Because of the cradle-to-grave characteristic of the educational occupation and because of the strong tendency toward closure to outside ideas, the logical consequence is the confusion with which education is replete and from which educators find emergence difficult. Antidotes for this situation have been implicitly indicated in this paper but a few others will be mentioned.

If education is going to progress, educators' objectives should be to modify the occupational circle or educational closed shop. One way this might be done is to permit persons to teach, administer and do research in education without being indoctrinated by educational courses and experience. It is also suggested that educators could break the circular characteristic of their knowledge through increased use of social science. Some of those in power in education already realize that their present procedures are not solving many basic controversies. Knowing something ought to be done, they try out social science along with other measures. In one instance, where a sociologist is on an education staff, his job is to write reviews of sociological literature for distribution among educators. This is one avenue for the entrance of social science.

Educators also need methods developed in the sciences for research and theory conceptualization as well as information about the culture of Western and non-Western societies and the function of education therein. An ideal arrangement for the advancement of education would be for educators and sociologists to conduct community studies together. Both groups would be a part of the research, which would allow an exchange of information and remove the barrier that exists because social scientists are outsiders trying to influence a tightly organized in-group.

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